DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 101 336 CS 201 780

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TITLE Canada Sees the World through U. S. Eyes: One Case Study in Cultural Domination.
PUB DATE Nov 73
NOTE 25p.; Paper presented to "New Approaches in the Study of Canadian-American Relations: A Transnational Perspective" (Carleton University, Ottawa, November, 1973)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$1.58 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS Broadcast Industry; *Case Studies; *Cultural Factors; Foreign Relations; Higher Education; *Journalism; *Mass Media; *Media Research; Newspapers; News Reporting
IDENTIFIERS *Canada; News Agencies

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to document the cultural influences which the United States exerts over Canada because of Canadian reliance on foreign news agencies, especially news services that are located in the United States. The print material used to document this paper was drawn from a 1967 study of news flows for the Canadian Department of External Affairs and a 1969 content analysis of 30 Canadian dailies for the Special Senate Committee on the Mass Media. The broadcast material was gathered in a series of interviews done especially for this paper. The data in this case study is presented in both narrative and table form and the extent to which Canadian newscasts follow the American format and content when they are recorded for rebroadcast is examined. This news policy is especially significant when news is translated into French, but contains an American perspective on world events. The paper concludes with a five-point plan to solve the problem of Canadian reliance on foreign agencies for news. (RB)

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"CANADA SEES THE WORLD THROUGH U.S. EYES: ONE CASE STUDY IN CULTURAL DOMINATION"

Paper Presented To:

"NEW APPROACHES IN THE STUDY OF CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS: A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE"

at

Carleton University, Ottawa

Saturday, November 10, 1973

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November 1973

CS 201 780

This paper deals with one aspect of a topic that is very familiar to Canadians -- the cultural domination of one country, Canada, by another, the United States. It's a topic that has received a great deal of studied, often emotional attention in some areas, such as the existence of U.S. professors in Canadian Universities. But it's a topic that is often ignored in other aspects such as this one -- the role of foreign news agencies in providing Canadians with their view of world affairs. In preparing this paper, I was particularly struck by one thing: the absence of sources of information outside my own research. Therefore, in writing it, I have spent more time detailing the realities in the area of news flow than in analyzing and commenting on their significance.

Thirty-two years ago, Carlton McNaught, in a book called Canada Gets The News,[1] wrote that "foreign news in Canadian daily newspapers comes, in the main, from United States news gathering agencies".[2] Today, over three decades later, a great deal has changed: Canadian foreign coverage has expanded; radio has grown greatly; television has arrived and assumed the most important role in the dissemination of news about international affairs.[3] But, despite all these developments, the flavor of McNaught's statement remains true: what we as Canadians read, learn or see of foreign affairs is shaped by foreign news agencies and, furthermore, the most important sources are U.S. agencies. Therefore, it seems reasonable to entitle this paper: "Canada Sees the World Through U.S. Eyes: One Case Study in Cultural Domination".

Actually the picture is far more complex than McNaught probably realized. For one thing, Canada is a bilingual country and French-reading Canadians may easily get a different view of the world than English-reading ones. For another, Canadian overseas coverage is sporadic: it may often be a function

of crisis or special event -- generalities are open to question. Perhaps even more important is the fact that we, as Canadians, often see ourselves as an isolated case: research done elsewhere suggests our experience of cultural domination is not unique.

The bulk of this paper is concerned with an attempt to document the above statements first for print, then radio, then television. The print material generally is drawn from two major studies, both done by me, one a 1967 study of news flows for the Department of External Affairs,[4] the other a 1969 content analysis of 30 Canadian dailies for the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media.[5] The radio and television material, in contrast, could not be drawn from any published source: it was gathered in a series of interviews done especially for this paper. It is, admittedly, somewhat incomplete; it is also, nonetheless, extremely revealing. The final section of the paper assumes that the reality -- the importance of foreign agencies in our reception of international news -- is a problem as well. A number of possible solutions are thrown out for discussion.

Before going into detail, it may be useful to explain the meaning of a number of terms that are used continually in this paper. The most common is CP, for the Canadian Press, the co-operative Canadian-owned, print news service. Almost equally important is BN, for Broadcast News, CP's broadcast service. Also used frequently are the names of four foreign news agencies: AP, Associated Press, the U.S. co-operative; Reuter, the British news Agency; AF-P, Agence France-Presse, the French agency; and UPI, United Press International, the private U.S. company which is in the business of selling news. I'll also be talking about the public and private Canadian television systems, CBC and CTV, and about the three broadcast news services of the three U.S. broadcast networks, ABC, NBC, CBS. There'll be other terms as well but all of them, in my opinion, are self-explanatory and need not be covered here.

The first important point to establish is that foreign news agencies play a substantial role in the way Canadians get their print news of foreign events. This is not too difficult to do. Both of the print studies mentioned above suggest that foreign agencies play a substantial role when events in or about foreign countries are being covered. The following table, for example, was prepared after a three-month study of 30 Canadian dailies. It shows clearly that for news about foreign subjects (space) or foreign affairs, Canadian papers rely on foreign news services.[6]

TABLE #1: Percentage of News Item Supplied by Various Sources

		Staff	CP	Reuter AP, AF-P
1.	Science and Space	12.2	6.4	52.1
2.	Foreign Affairs	15.7	13.9	45.9
3.	Religion	46.0	7.3	27.4
4.	Fires, Accidents, Disputes	42.6	18.5	25.0
5.	Crime and Vice	45.5	23.0	21.1
6.	Medicine and Health	30.1	27.4	17.9
7.	Sports	47.3	18.2	17.2
8.	Art	46.4	16.9	12.1
9.	Human Interest	35.3	15.4	11.9
10.	Politics and Government	45.4	24.7	11.7
11.	Business and Finance	30.1	38.9	11.1
12.	Agriculture	48.5	31.3	9.1
13.	Labour and Industry	46.4	35.9	5.3
14.	Women	67.6	6.4	5.2
15.	Education	67.0	23.6	2.6

The above figures, incidentally, are somewhat misleading: the Canadian Press news agency has agreements with Reuter, AP and AFP which allow it to process news from these services. Some of this news is incorporated into CP reports and filed as CP copy. Some of it is Canadianized by modest editorial changes; some of it is left virtually untouched. It is not possible to tell, merely from examining copy in its published form, whether copy is genuinely CP, genuinely original Reuter, AP or AFP, or the Canadianized version of one of the foreign services.

The Canadianization process, by the way, is a rather fascinating one. The following examples of Canadianization were observed during a 24-hour watch of CP copy in CP's New York bureau during the summer of 1969.[8]

. the word "President" was changed to "president";

. a Soviet fighter plane was changed from a MIG to an MiG (since the plane's designers are Mikoyan and Gurovich, CP's version makes more sense);

. the name of a community, "Centerville" was altered to "Centreville";

. the term "the nation's" was altered to "in the U.S.";

. the reference to "The Duke of Edinburgh, the Queen's husband", was changed to "Prince Philip";

. a reference to the Pentagon was altered to read, "the United States defence department"; and

. a reference to "enemy" in a story from Viet Nam was altered to read "North Vietnamese-Viet Cong".

As all the above examples illustrate, the process of Canadianization does not alter the basic story content, only adjusts minor points that might irritate Canadian readers.

Finally, one further table shows how the amount of copy from foreign services is non-existent for coverage of Canadian affairs but rises sharply as we move to the U.S. then beyond its borders.[7]

TABLE #2: Percent of Items Supplied By Staff, CP and Other News Services

	Staff	CP	Other	Total
Local	80.1	6.8	--	86.9
Regional	71.1	12.5	---	83.6
Provincial	56.4	29.0	--	85.4
Sectional	43.2	40.9	--	84.1
National	23.2	54.5	--	77.7
U.S.	26.5	48.0	24.5	99.0
Other World	23.1	22.9	54.0	100.0

The further one gets from the place of publication, the more likely one is to read copy written by a wire service -- first, CP, then foreign services.

The Senate study also revealed that Canadian dailies rely to a considerable extent on other U.S. news services. The following three tables show the percentage of UPI, New York Times and Los Angeles Times-Washington Post stories in some of the dailies studied: only in the case of UPI are any of the stories Canadian (and even then only one item in 11); neither the Times service nor the Post service carried a single Canadian item.[9]

Percentage of UPI Items

Windsor Star	11.9
Montreal Matin*	9.5
Victoria Colonist**	9.0
Toronto Telegram	8.7
Montreal Gazette	6.7
Ottawa Journal	5.0
Le Soleil	4.9
Toronto Star	3.3
Vancouver Sun	2.2.
La Presse	2.1
Ottawa Citizen	1.9
Globe and Mail	1.4

Percentage of N.Y. Times Items[10]

Globe and Mail	3.8
London Free Press	3.8
Winnipeg Tribune	3.7
Montreal Star	2.9
Calgary Herald	2.9
St. John's Evening Telegram	1.7

Los Angeles Times-Washington Post[11]

Calgary Herald	3.3
Halifax Chronicle-Herald	1.7
Victoria Colonist	1.4
Windsor Star	1.4
Winnipeg Free Press	1.4
Montreal Star	1.2

* In 1969, Montreal Matin was the only important daily not a member of CP.

** The Victoria Colonist uses UPI in an effort to provide a contrast to the jointly-owned Victoria Times.

The above figures are, perhaps, more revealing when one realizes that 63 per cent of UPI, 70 per cent of New York Times copy and 45 per cent of Times-Post copy was about the U.S. Twenty-eight per cent of UPI, 30 per cent of New York Times and 55 per cent of Times-Post copy was aoout the rest of the world. Through these U.S. services, Canadians learned about the U.S. and about the world from a U.S. perspective.

The overall bias of Canadian foreign coverage is even more striking when stories are broken down into categories covering various aspects of Canadian and other news. Canadian news, of course, predominates; but the U.S. is an over-riding second choice.

Percentage of Items About[12]
Various Areas

Local Canadian	30.2
Canadian National	18.2
Canadian Provincial	9.9
U.S. International	9.8
U.S. National	6.5
Canadian International	4.4
Canadian Regional	4.4
United Kingdom	3.6
Western Europe	2.8
U.S. Local	1.7
France	1.2

U.S. international items are more common than Canadian international stories: this is, perhaps, understandable in view of the importance of the U.S. in world affairs. But it's clear how dominant U.S. news is when you realize U.S. national stories -- the federal political scene -- is also more important than Canadian international affairs.

Another study -- this one done for External Affairs -- underlines the accuracy of the above material. The External Affairs study covered only 15 Canadian dailies only on six areas or topics and only one month, but, since it was done in June, 1967, during the six day war in the Middle East, it is a revealing review of foreign coverage. Among other things, it showed that when foreign topics only were being studied -- most English papers received over half their news from foreign news sources:

% of News From Foreign Services[13]	
Victoria Colonist	66.7
Montreal Gazette	58.3
Halifax Chronicle-Herald	56.5
Winnipeg Tribune	55.9
Toronto Globe	55.3

The two English papers below 50 per cent were the Toronto Daily Star and the Ottawa Citizen. The Star percentage was low because it had staff in the Middle East and in Viet Nam during the study period. The Citizen percentage was low because it carried a great deal of foreign copy from Southam News Service. But perhaps the point has been well-made: Canadian daily papers rely on foreign agencies for foreign news.

Both of the above studies were, however, done a number of years ago: perhaps the picture has changed? Well, perhaps it has -- a bit. The most recent data available suggests there are 19 Canadians stationed abroad and that a number of other publications, notably La Presse and the Montreal Star, do send newsmen outside the country when events dictate. It is also true that the overseas bureaux do appear to be gradually expanding.[14] At present (October 1973) Canadian Press has three senior staffers in London (Ron Currie, Kevin Doyle and Carol Kennedy), two in Washington (Peter Buckley

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and Bruce Levett) one in Brussels (Cy Fox) and one in Paris (Donat Valois) Southam News Service has one man in Peking (John Walker), one in Washington, (Duart Farquharson), one in Paris (Ben Tierney) and one in London (Peter Calamai). The Toronto Daily Star has one in London (Frank Jones), one in London (Frank Jones), one in Washington (Bruce Garvey) one in Hong Kong (Jack Cahill) and one in Paris, recently expelled from Cairo (Pat Scott). The Globe has one in Washington (Ross Munro) and one in London (James Anderson). FP has one in Washington (Paul Whitelaw). FP and the Globe co-sponsor one in Peking (John Burns). One expansion will probably be announced shortly: FP will probably arrange for a Montreal Star man to go to London. The Canadian Press staffers, of course, file for all Canadian-print dailies: the others guarantee that, at least in London and Washington, Canadians have some alternative view of the world. The locations, however, do reveal several gaps: as far as Canada is concerned, regular staff reports from South America, Africa, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe will have to come entirely from the foreign news records.

It should be mentioned that there is evidence that the presence of a correspondent not only increases the coverage of an area because of that correspondent's dispatches, it also leads to an increase in the use of other copy from the area as well. Thus the concentration of Canadians in a number of areas undoubtedly lead to some distortions in the nature of Canadian foreign coverage.*

So far we've been talking about print. What's the situation with respect to radio and to television? the answer -- though there is much less documentation -- is that the picture is basically the same. Canadian radio relies mainly on BN, CP's broadcast news service and BN relies almost entirely

*This is supported by my own work (External Study, op.cit., p. 22, and by an earlier U.S. study, see: John B. Adams, "What the Foreign Correspondent does for a newspapers readers", Journalism Quarterly, summer, 1966, p. 303-304, 313.

on ABC, the U.S. agency, for its international news. Other radio services are also dependent on the U.S.. In television, because of the existence of CBC and CTV foreign bureaux, there is some Canadian view in world affairs; but the basic service -- especially in film -- is once again foreign and U.S. Canadians hear and see the world through radio and on TV from U.S. sources and with U.S. pictures.

The following figures, supplied by BN, show the number of Canadians and non-Canadian items carried by BN during the 12 months prior to this paper being written:

	Canadian	Non-Canadian
1972		
October	1,994	686
November	2,012	810
December	2,278	940
1973		
January	2,520	850
February	2,532	770
March	2,438	740
April	2,076	720
May	2,690	930
June	2,522	981
July	2,893	1,200
August	2,895	1,000
September	2,607	950

The calculations work out to 26.4 percent non-Canadian items, every one from ABC. The rare items actually filed by Canadians (Bud Jorgensen at GATT in Tokyo Barry Hamelin with Trudeau in Peking) are classified as

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"Canadian": they may add a slightly Canadian flavour to the total international news picture but they do not obscure the U.S. flavour of BN's voice service.*

The overall radio scene is somewhat different, however, from the overall print scene. Three separate radio news services -- Newsradio, Contemporary News and Standard Broadcast News -- provide an alternative to BN voice. And CBC also has its national and international voice service. The first situation does not substantially alter the non-Canadian flavour of international news for all three private services depend on U.S. service for foreign news: Newsradio is hooked up with CBS; Contemporary is tied into UPI voice; Standard is associated with NBC. Virtually all international feeds on these three 'Canadian" services are from the U.S. news organizations.** But CBC radio does influence the total picture. Using its own staff -- Don McNeill and Colin Godbold in Washington, Tom Earle and Tom Leach in London, Joe Schlesinger in Hong Kong and Peter Daniel in Paris -- CBC acquires its own voice reports and CBC, in addition, freely uses freelancers: during the recent Middle East War it used Jim Lederman, a Canadian resident in Tel Aviv, and Diane Williams, an Australian living in Beirut, to give it two separate views of the war. CBC, also, incidentally has access to NBC, ABC and CBS and can use any or all of the three U.S. services to add to its varied coverage of world affairs.[16]

* It probably should be noted here that the BN wire is basically a CP summary. It therefore reflects CP's dependence on AP, Reuter and AFP. The above table is not for the wire but for the voice service.

** The fact these services are dependent on U.S. services for foreign news does not alter their Canadian competitive character. All three provide varied Canadian coverage through bureaux in Ottawa and hook-ups across the country.

.Standard is based on the anchor stations of CFRB, Toronto, and CJAD, Montreal. It includes VOCM and affiliates in Newfoundland; CHML, Hamilton; CJOB, Winnipeg; CKCK, Regina; CFQC, Saskatoon; CHQR, Calgary; CFRN, Edmonton, CFNW, Vancouver; and CFAX, Victoria.

.Contemporary is based on CHUM, Toronto. It includes CKLG, Vancouver; CKXL, Calgary, CHEM, Edmonton; CHAB, Moose Jaw; CKY, Winnipeg; CHNO, Sudbury; CFRA, Ottawa; CJCH, Halifax; and CJON, St. John's.

.Newsradio is based on CKEY, Toronto and CFCF, Montreal. It includes CHQM, Vancouver, CFCN, Calgary; CKRC, Winnipeg; CKPR, Thunder Bay; CKOC, Hamilton; and CKOY, Ottawa. It does not (October, 1973) service the Maritimes.

English language television, like English language print and radio, depends on the U.S. to provide the bulk of its international news. CTV has an agreement that covers its own service from NBC and the ABC service for its affiliates. CTV also has permission to use film from Viznews, an agency that is owned by NBC, CBC, BBC and ABC (Australia), an agreement that does not cover Canadian film (which is exclusively CBC). CTV normally tapes ABC and NBC early evening newscasts and selects the material it wants for the late evening Canadian news. CBC follows much the same pattern: it tapes CBS news each night at 6:30 p.m. and NBC at 7 p.m. and uses film from these two newscasts. CBC normally prefers to scalp (take from) CBS because it does not want to duplicate CTV's clips from NBC. Also CBC is aware that CBS has the largest independent TV news operation -- 18 foreign bureaux -- so CBS is likely to provide the most exclusive and original view -- though a U.S. one -- of the world.

CTV, of course, has some correspondents abroad. Peter Kent and Michael McClear are in London and Don Newman is in Washington. Their reports are often featured on CTV news and they are moved to trouble spots (such as the Middle East) when the news dictates. CBC TV has the same foreign news personnel as CBC radio (see above) but it backs them up with contract cameramen: it can shoot staff film reports whenever it newsmen are stationed or move. Occasionally CBC will provide international news to Viznews, the co-operative news film agency: the most recent request -- for Ron Collister and Joe Schlesinger film from Peking -- came from BBC via Viznews, New York.*

*It probably needs mentioning that the amount of news on radio and on TV is far less than in print. About 40 per cent of the total space in a newspaper is devoted to editorial copy, a good deal of it, news. Radio runs from three to nine per cent of its daytime programming in the form of news. Television is probably around somewhat less than radio (newscasts are longer but there are less of them).

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That then is the print, radio and television picture -- at least for English media. The problem is that it's only part of the picture: the French media story is somewhat different, especially for print, but also in a different way for radio, and for television. When it comes to print, Canada's French media still rely basically on the CP service and the news acquired from CP and its affiliates, AP, Reuter and AFP. But, in the case of such print media, AFP copy, which arrives in French, is the basic international news service. The following table shows the average number of items per service used by nine English papers and six French dailies during the June, 1967, six day war:[17]

	Nine English Dailies	Six French Dailies
AP	71	6
UPI	14	9
Reuter	31	2
U.S. Syndicates	32	1
AFP	0	36
Can. Syndicates	14	2
Can. Press	55	23
Staff	50	20

The table clearly shows how the French dailies relied on AFP to the exclusion of the British and U.S. agency services, AP and Reuter. The Senate study provides much of the same data:[18]

	English Dailies	French Dailies
Staff	38.9	50.4
CP	21.3	12.3
AP	11.7	4.6
Reuter	3.1	.3
UPI	2.1	3.3
AFP	.2	9.8

Again -- over a three-month period -- the French media relied on AFP while the English media preferred the U.S. and British agency copy.

The above table, by the way, illustrates the importance of U.S. services to the English press: (approximates 80 per cent)

of all foreign service copy) came from U.S. services. For the French dailies, the bulk of the copy, (54 per cent) come from French (France) sources. The English and French Canadian view of the world is clearly quite different. Another table, that deals with this area of interest rather than source of copy, also shows the English-French difference:[19]

	% of Stories About	
	English	French
Canada	66.1	72.1
U.S.	19.6	15.1
U.K.	4.0	1.4
Europe	2.8	3.0
France	1.0	3.1

French-language newspapers are more concerned about Canada, less about the U.S., more concerned about France and less concerned about the United Kingdom, than are their English counterparts.

This variation between French and English does not however extend to radio and television. Here, the French media, like the English, are very dependent on U.S. sources. Because there is no French-language broadcast service available, French broadcast media -- radio and TV -- are forced to use stories in translation, a practice that eliminates actualities or live reports. There only out is to, occasionally, take an AFP script item and have someone record it in their studios as if it came from abroad. CBC Radio-Canada does have some access to overseas reports -- Lucien Miller in Washington , Raymond Grenier in Hong Kong, Andre Bedard in Paris -- but the world is, on the whole, left uncovered. Radio Canada-TV gets reports on film from the same correspondents but, on the whole, it, like English TV; can only scalp U.S. news. Radio Canada, like CBC English news, records CBS at 6:30 p.m. and NBC at 7 p.m. and often it uses the U.S. film reports with a French reader reading over them a translation of what the U.S. newsman has said. Quite literally, in television, French Canadians see the world

through U.S. eyes and hear it only in translation from the original U.S. version.

* The significance of this French-English variation is perhaps clearer when one reads S. G. Gordon's M.A. thesis in International Affairs at Carleton especially Chapter III, "Two Solitudes". Unfortunately the copy I was able to secure has no title; but it was, I believe, completed in 1972. Gordon shows that French and English foreign affairs date them to different sources of news.

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It was also mentioned earlier that Canadian overseas coverage is sporadic -- a function of a dramatic news occasion or perhaps of the visit of a Canadian minister abroad. Two examples will illustrate this point. The first, from the External study, shows how Canadian staff coverage dwindled as the Middle East crisis subsided in June, 1967:

Stories Received From Israel[20]

	June 1-10	June 11-20	June 21-30
Associated Press	34	31	15
UPI	5	12	4
Reuter	5	18	13
AFP	15	16	9
CP	26	19	3
Staff	22	24	1

Stories Received From Arab States[21]

	June 1-10	June 11-20	June 21-30
Associated Press	39	41	44
UPI	11	2	10
Reuter	29	38	21
AFP	13	13	8
CP	12	5	0

Almost 50 per cent of copy from Israel during the first 10 days of June (while the war was on) was CP or staff-written; that percentage dropped to seven by the last 10 days of the month.

Staff coverage dwindled as the crisis subsided. Staff coverage also, incidentally, represented a very one-sided view of the war: almost all of it was filed from Tel Aviv rather than from any Arab point.

Coverage given when a Canadian dignitary is abroad (especially when he takes his own plane) is shown by a book at who went to Peking with Trudeau. The list of 52 persons includes most of the agencies or services mentioned so far in this paper:[22]

. Stewart MacLeod of CP (along with CP photographer Peter Bregg);

. John Walker of Southam and Dave Ablett of FP;

. Jack Cahill of the Toronto Star (along with photographer Reg Innell); John Burns of the Globe, Claude Turcotte of La Presse;

. Barry Hamelin of BN;

. Jack Derouin of Contemporary; Ken Lawrence of Standard and Paul Taylor of Newsradio;

. Ron Collister and Joe Schlesinger of CBC (along with producer and crew), Tom Gould of CTV (along with producer and crew) and Gerard-Marie Bovin and Laurence Begin of Radio Canada (along with producer and crew);

There were also a number of other individual publications and stations represented.* For some of these, however, the Trudeau trip probably represents the only Canadian look their readers, listeners or viewers will ever get of China.

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* To avoid any possibility of misunderstanding it should be noted that all those who flew with Trudeau to Peking were assessed $800 (Can) in air fare. Only expenses charged to newsmen and at 60 Chinese youn (about $30 Canadian) per day. This charge includes room, board, official transport, group interpreter and laundry. All along with the Prime Minister were billed.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, it was pointed out tha Canadians often see our situation as unique. It's simply not so. A recent study by Tapio Varis of the University of Tampere, Finland showed how much other countries rely on imported programs.[23]

% of Programs

	Imported	Domestic
Canada (CBC)	34	66
Canada	46	54
U.S.	1	99
Chile	55	45
Guatemala	84	16
Uruguay	62	38
France	9	91
Sweden	33	67
Finland	40	60
Hungary	40	60
Soviet Union	5	95
Australia	57	43
New Zealand	75	25
Japan	4	96
Iraq	52	48
Israel	55	45
Zambia	64	36

The list, as quoted here, is not complete: it does suggest only the U.S., Russia and Japan are able to sustain their own television news programmes. The data, of course, is for all programmes, not just news. The head of Finnish TV News, Yrjo Lansvporo, told a conference called to discuss Professor Varis's report:

> The biggest newsfilm agencies, with cameramen and subscribers everywhere, are Viznews (British), UPIIN (British-American, owned 50-50 by UPI and ITN) and CBS Newsfilm (U.S.). These agencies are virtually the only source of TV newsfilm for a large number of countries. Most of the Third World TV services depend 100 per cent on these agencies for their entire supply of newsfilm, not only about other Third World countries, including their neighboring countries. So newsfilm shot in Ghana has to travel via London in order to reach Lagos or Abidjan.[24]

Canada is far from alone.

But what does all this mean? Does it really matter that Canadian (and others) see the world through foreign, usually U.S., eyes? I think it does. It's hard, in my opinion, to argue that a U.S. national would have the same view of Viet Nam as a French national or -- to stretch the argument to its absurdity -- that a Russian journalist would have the same view of the Middle East as a U.S. correspondent. The Senate committee stated its view quite bluntly.

> To an importer of widgets, the nationality and allegiance of his supplier are not especially important. To an importer of news they are crucial.
>
> Every reporter has a bias. We think it is immensely important that the reporters who give us our picture of the world should reflect the kind of bias that Canadians tend to share rather than the bias that Americans or Englishmen tend to share.[25]

The Senate report concluded there should be more Canadians abroad.

Well if there is a problem, what are the solutions? I think there are a number.

First, it's quite clear that one possibility is the expansion of government into the business of news. Insofar as CBC news is government news it's possible for the government to organize and support expanded international coverage as a matter of policy.

Second, it seems clear that the private newspapers, radio and television can expand their coverage of their own volition. If the Senate committee's profit figures are correct (and no one has challenged them) Canadian print, radio and television can well afford to spend a great deal more on news. (You may recall that the Senate committee concluded that owning a newspaper was extremely profitable -- profits run between 12.3 and 17.5 per cent over a 10-year period.[26] Owning a big TV station, apparently, is even better. The big TV stations had their

worst year in 1967 when pre-tax profits were 40 per cent.[27] Radio profits vary a great deal because there are a lot of radio stations, many quite small but, by 1968, many stations has profits comparable to those of the big TV stations.)[28]

Third, there could be some connections between print and broadcast media. The third English television network Global has already reached agreement with ABC. But it is dickering with Southam's over the possibility of using the Southam correspondents abroad for its overseas reporters. If agreement is reached Southam's will use the income to add about three more foreign bureaux which would make the Southam-Global foreign network far more expansive of any private operation in Canada -- in fact more varied than CBC.

Fourth, it seems possible that Canadian media -- as some are starting to do -- might explore the possibility of making connections with other middle powers such as the Scandanavian countries so that a new print, radio and television service can be created. The Scandanavian countries already get a great deal of material in English so they are used to using English material.

Fifth, given the high level of media profits, it seems plausible to suggest that Canadian media be forced by regulation of legislation to expand their news operations with or without the Canadian Press so total news coverage could be expanded. I have not time to consider how such an excess profit news system might work but the idea is tantalizing.

But the basic point of this paper is not to provide a solution to a problem but rather to state the problem: Canadians clearly do see the world through foreign, usually U.S., eyes: what, if anything, are we going to do about it?

1. Carlton McNaught, Canada Gets the News (Toronto, 1940)

2. McNaught, op.cit., p.50

3. "Good, Bad or Simply Inevitable", Report of the Special Senate committee on Mass Media, Volume III (Ottawa 1970), p. 15. Hereafter referred to as Mass Media Report. Television was rated as the most important medium for international news by 56 per cent. of Canadians, the most believable medium for international news by 60 per cent.

4. T. Joseph Scanlon. "The Sources of Foreign News In Canadian Daily Newspapers", (Ottawa 1968). Unpublished. Hereafter referred as External Study.

5. T. Joseph Scanlon. A Study of the Contents of 30 Canadian Daily Newspapers (Ottawa, 1969). Hereafter referred to as Senate study.

6. Senate study, op.cit., p. 13. The table has been re-ordered to make the point.

7. Ibid., p. 11.

8. Ibid., p. 26.

9. Ibid., p. 14.

10. Ibid., p. 16.

11. Ibid., p. 17.

12. Ibid., p. 5.

13. External study, p. 7.

14. All of the data quoted in this paragraph was obtained in interviews. These were not exhaustive and there may well be some omissions.

15. Figures in this table were supplied by BN in Toronto.

16. The data in this paragraph was obtained in interviews with CBC, CTV, Radio Canada and the various radio news services: Newsradio, Contemporary and Standard Broadcast News.

17. External study, p. 8.

18. Senate study, p. 31

19. Ibid., p. 29.

20. External study, p. 19.

21. Loc. cit.

22. "Media List - China Visit, October 8-19, 1973" Supplied by the Office of the Prime Minister.

23. Tapio Varis, "International Inventory of Television Programme Structure and the Flow of TV Programmes Between Nations", (Tampere, 1973), p. 31.

24. ----------, "Proceedings of the Symposium on the International Flow of Television Programs", (Tampere, 1973), p. 20.

25. Mass Media Report, Vol. I, p. 233-234.

26. Ibid., p. 47

27. Ibid., p. 62

28. Ibid., p. 60-61

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As mentioned earlier, there is little published material in the area covered by this paper. Therefore, inevitably, most of the material present was acquired in a series of interviews.

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